horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30 centimeters.

The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not playing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men, and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad," they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite them to go efface their defeat.

The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview," A synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not they are mixed with asri.

Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers, and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each person takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And everyone jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides. Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

/46 cont./ Man

571 In order to understand Tuareg country well, it is necessary to examine the people from the ethnic point of view, in so far as this is possible, and also from the social and economic point of view.

A concise table will show the different ethnic groups, the social classes, and the economic specializations; it will facilitate a better understanding of the human relations.

A. Ethnic /groups/

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1.	Whites :	Berbers	: Tuareg	Nobles Imrads, except for the Issakamaren
		Arabs	: Mozabites	
			: Chorfa	
			: Chaamba	
2.	Blacks :	Iklan	: Sudanese	
		Harratin	: Sudanese, Saharans	
3.	Mixed :	Maalmines :		
		Issakamaren :	Arab - Tuareg	
		Mixed Tuareg - Negro		

/47/

B. Social Organization

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1. Tuareg
   1. Nobles (Ihaggarènes)
   2. Vassals (Imrads)
   3. Artisans (Inaden)
   4. Gardeners (Harratin)
   5. Domestics (Iklan)

2. Arabs
   Chorfa (holy men)
   Zaoui " "
   Chaamba
   Miscellaneous
   Mixed

3. Mozabites

/47 cont./

571/463 C. Economic Organization

Tuareg	:	Nomadic herdsmen
Arabs	:	Nomadic herdsmen and traders
Inaden	:	Artisans
Harratin	:	Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers
Iklan	:	Domestics of the Tuareg
Mozabites:		Sedentary traders
Chorfa	:	Receive alms in exchange for their presence
Zaoui	:	id.

571/619/643 At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571/564 Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

/49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*ettebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*téghé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytoḳ* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ḥela* drum-group.

The Kel Ḥela drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ḥela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ḥela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeyri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéri-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ḥela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ḥela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellaṭ*) taken by

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellaǧ*, comprising half of the booty remaining when one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.

The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

Tradition A. All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Radamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

Tradition B.1. This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Himan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:—

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Ḳali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Ḳali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*".

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhaṛ* (sing. *Amahaṛ*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aheṛ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amaziṛ* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aheṛ* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462).

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adèlen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

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be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñharen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñharen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñharen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

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1926, p. 100 ff.), and they have been studied later within the same area by other anthropologists (cf. Schlesier 1956, p. 54 ff.). It is my impression that they are comparatively rare among the Tuareg because their social systems have mechanisms which serve to prevent conflicts: The system of cross-cousin marriage in connection with rules of joking, avoidance, and those which permit a man to take domestic animals not only from his father but also from his mother's brothers would seem to lessen conflicts which are latent in other matrilineal systems.

Functional studies would seem to constitute an important means to explain the historical development of social organization, but the functional method alone cannot help us, for it is evident that diffusion also plays a considerable part in the change of social systems as has been shown in this study of the Tuareg. Anthropology is not science in the ordinary sense of the word. People do not behave according to such fixed rules as those we call "natural laws". They have rules but these are not always followed very strictly, and I have shown above that social rules can change owing to diffusion and the adoption of new social traits. So-called primitive peoples do not always live in the functional world of modern anthropology, but they always live in a world of change and tradition. It is possible that the Northern Tuareg for centuries have practised marriages with a maternal cousin, though this type of marriage disagrees with their social system which favours cross-cousin marriage. As to the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, we know that some of them adopted patrilineal succession owing to contact with the Arabs more than two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, these Tuareg have not adopted the entire social system of the Arabs, and even to-day there are matrilineal traits among them.

Tuareg culture cannot be understood by a mere functional analysis, for its creation is due to diffusion of traits from other cultures, and this seems to hold for all cultural aspects, including political systems and social organization. Consequently, I have tried to understand cultural development in the light of the methods of both functional and historical anthropology.

I hope that this study on Tuareg culture may be considered a contribution towards a more realistic historical method, and trust that my work may be of some value to others who take up the great problems connected with the history of North African culture. It may well be that some of the theories I have advanced or intimated will not survive when our knowledge of the Tuareg and North African cultures is increased, but I believe that a study of cultural development within limited areas will enable a far more realistic and detailed picture of cultural history to be created than has so far been the case.